

1. Check with Wolf
on running Project.
Cph, etc.



2. Conference?

3. ~~Grand scheme for,~~
~~Lessons of Rebellion.~~



4. Product in 3-6 months

5. CIRADOS.

6. Carnegie money



E6L

Banding

Val

Bloomfield

Bolte:

Compton list

Margolin
et al

2d-order
argument :



1. $R + A$.
2. VN letters

When nation & interest —
blacks, browns, drafters?

Why not if guns for King —
why not for blacks in
Rhodesia?

20.6 per 1000
infant mortality ; in
Sweden 12.6.

for whites (non-white
twice as much).

race problem — what
did Dems do?

(VN?)

_____ Dems
Mort Plan / Sacramento State

There's a lot of people
criticizing the President
— well, maybe he is
screwing up ...
but he said he
had a secret way to
end the war —
he can keep a secret
as good as anyone I've
ever seen...

Ochs:

Election: 3 night-
ing ass-holes...

[need to stop the
bullshit...]

Things not believed...

How come little RAND
discussion of:

ABM

ASW!

MIRV

NPT; anti-prolif

(no first use)

(Russia; Walf)

VN - What went wrong

What could/should

have been done

What to do

US aims

000 Budget

Hoag!

Strategic aims

(e.g. "min. Deterrence")

No first use.

MESSAGE

TO

DE

DATE

11/14

TIME

1:30

A.M.

P.M.

DURING YOUR ABSENCE

NAME

Sam Popkin

PHONE NO. (8) (9)

Boston Apr. 20

OF

at home: 617-876-5545

or work: 868-7600 ex. 3272



PHONED



CAME BY



PLEASE PHONE



WANTS TO SEE YOU



RETURNED YOUR CALL

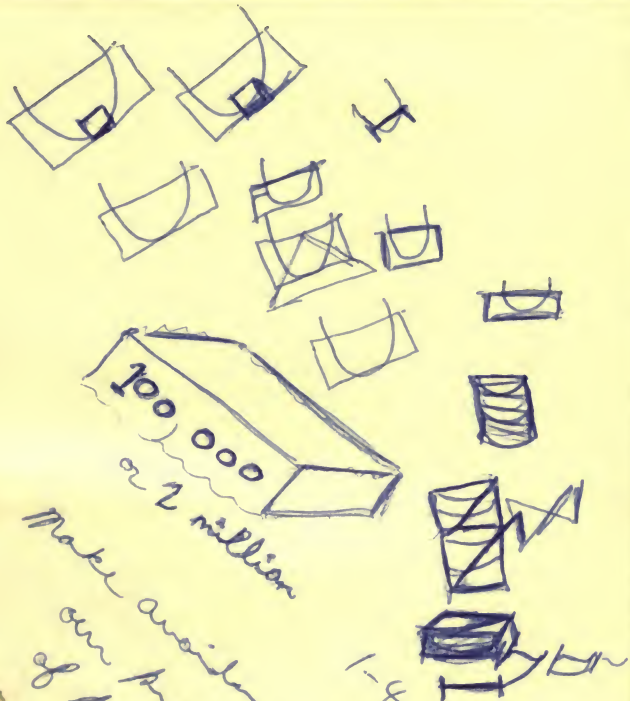


WILL PHONE AGAIN

MESSAGE

[Handwritten scribbles and letters covering the message area]

BY



Make avoidance of bloodbath
our primary goal — instead
of pressing Saigon
Neutralized South

How did the move into
Coch area in the North?

2 new Penguins

- ① The Liberation of Guiné
Battle?
- ② The War in Mozambique
Eduardo Mondlane

3 Doris Macaulay, History of the Irish Republic

✓

Art - The TFX Decision Little Brown
Stone - Strategic Persuasion ^{paper} Columbia

ABM - An Evaluation Charges & Weissman Harper

Oran Yong, The Politics of Far East Printer
Yang Tsun, China in Crisis, Vol. 2 Chicago ¹⁹⁶⁸

Mont Halperin Contemporary Military Strategy
Little Brown 1967 ~~John & John~~

Franklin & La Brea

Franklin West

Tony Harris

MEMORANDUM

To: Dan Ellsberg

Date: 7/16

From: Guy J. Pauker

This is the best account
published by the press
on Olson's relations with
his brother.

For your files.

Quass -

Simon, etc.

Mitchell, et al

Poe Study

~~Poe RM~~

~~Shubert~~

Simon — Models of Man

Chalmers Johnson
Peasant Revolution

←
Bobannon & Valeriano

"Alternatives"

"Actions" must have
a subj prob. for the
actor > 0 and < 1

(and for observer, if he
is to regard them as "real options").

But suppose that S.p. remains
close to 0 even as several
dimensions of outcome (but
not all) are greatly improved....
~~action~~ (and that one dimension
will not improve, or defines action)
→ action "not an option"

"If A believed that
action x would have certain
certain consequences---

would his s. p. of "doing it"
be affected?

Vann

~~o Bleibung~~ Tony
~~o Penza~~ Brun

~~o Lou~~

~~o Dack~~

(ged RM)

~~West~~

Jenkins

Wiener

} Learning

Scotton

Peyton

Mitchell RM

RAND Revue

Killen memo/4 RM



Saml Iki RM to;

Lt. Col. . Britten

Doolin

Wade

Nutter

Cooke

Value of Info

One can speak of
"quantity of info" input
(into a channel) as well
as output.

But can one speak of
"value of info" as
~~input~~ input, i.e. to
sender? Or just as
output, to receiver?

Rothstein, p. 16

"the impossibility of
extracting more info
from a comm channel
than is put into it."

Is this meaningful — and if
so, true — for value of
info?

"amount of info" \approx amount of
reduction in uncertainty

"Value of info" \approx value of
(specific)
reduction in uncertainty"
(which depends on actions, utilities,
and the specific form of reduction)

✓ Surgery

✓ Cultural Patterns

3 Thai D.I. Pac

Qim

US Ans

Chi (27)

Thai music

Rev. Judo

Critique of W-L

Learning

US Proposal Pattern

Violent Politics Talk

Mitchell / Russia

Latin / Mexico

Politics and US

NVR

Bagdikian

~~1759~~ 17951 Fremont Dr.

7:30

P.C.H.

1st St. N of Sunset: Porto Marino
at on
Brewe Way: left on Castellana;
left on Fremont
Opp is the house (small, long, white)

room / 800

2616

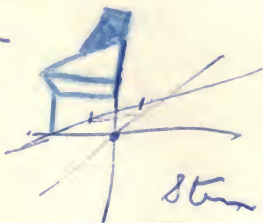
Enthorn

Stem / Haffman

Painter - Chan
Wallworth

8820 Webster

Dr. Levin



7

Stem
277-2900

Century City



5/1

A hand-drawn diagram in blue ink. It features a horizontal line on the left, followed by a series of connected zigzag segments. The line ends with a small, closed loop on the right side.

~~Walf~~



Vann

~~Kou~~

Kou
Oclana

~~Pat~~

EX-30486

#312

Arnstern

~~FS~~

Leitis

Stein

~~7359~~

fake


7377

White Scotton

VN

Bill Edwards

(Buzard? CAS Korea)

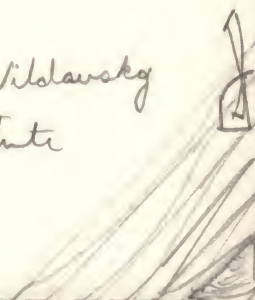
Adlai Stevenson Inst 
Guggenheim

CFR

Center for Behavioral Sci
(Jung)
Inst. for Advanced Study

Center of Advanced Study
Univ. of Illinois
Urbana

Berkeley - Wildavsky
Kennedy Institute
Kennedy School



Palk

Halperin

Morgenthau

Gilpatric

McG B

List



Conboy

Dalles

1:15



~~Louise~~

Walshy }
Brown }



~~Ostraw~~

Dron

Shunt

Digby

Dillo

Kimberly

Jean-Louis
Bergerin

5th flr.

Two lunch
Komer

2 Dec

Drac

AWW

Gill

Brown

Walinsky

Ostron 

Komer



Doc

Kevin

TUW



Shubert

Amster

Leiter





Kamateri

1 + 2

Brown

Walrisky

Kidder

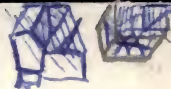
Dad

Bolte

PERT-Book

Anty Stoll





Send "letter memos"
to Roger Levin ✓

Send Boyk memos to RL

Droz - Levin - Archibald?
proposal for PA studies
at RAND.

~~Hille - JTM memos~~

Peres
476-1974

Keller

Letter to Balti

Shubert

AAAS

Newstadt
Schelling



Crisis

Tarkin Half:

Importance of context, i.e. interrupting actions:

- a) 34A action, at same time as Maddox
 - b) 1st PT attack (i.e. interrupting 2d)
 - c) After Tarkin: failure to continue attacks could signal lack of resolve. (JCS: Simon, p. 23)
- But also: convenience of 2d attack (given "cocked" condition & desire to do)
→ perception as attack.

Cocked condition: announcement of tough stance after 1st attack, to cover failure to respond. (like announcement on "offensive mistakes" in Cuba.)

Crisis

Price we paid for:

- 1) avoiding Geneva conference, fall '64
- 2) maintaining stability of SVN
- 3) Maintaining SVN morale for pacification (Simon, p. 31)

→ Escalation pressure of new precedent — making failure to continue, repeat, reinforce, "revealing" of lack of resolve.

Bonny: Recognized ^{by world} as failure now — in lengthy but "bijing NVN to table finally." (or "when there is also progress in South.") So.

(a) Now that there won't be progress in South

(b) Is it easier to admit a ~~large~~^{overall} failure or a component failure?

Are we unable to close out even the bombing? How about SVN, then?

Should admitting failure on bombing be rehearsal for admitting failure in SVN; or, just as difficult (better to wait, do both together?)

How to "hunker down"? Could we prevent offensives like these?

Could we have? Is it too late?

How long to regain where we were?

Note that attacks on cities also (a. fort.) increase insecurity in villages.

[Analyze Rostow thesis in terms of Theory of Blackmail

~~Thesis~~

(Rostow)

(Did we count on Com "tactical flexibility" to allow us to win with the bombing? They haven't shown much (Thesis: influence of ~~the~~ China) (Thesis: contrast to Ho vs. French, 1953).

Poe (Linn)

Assumption always that "popular support for GVN directly proportional to degree of protection gov provided" (first Taylor comment, Aug 64). McN, etc. ...

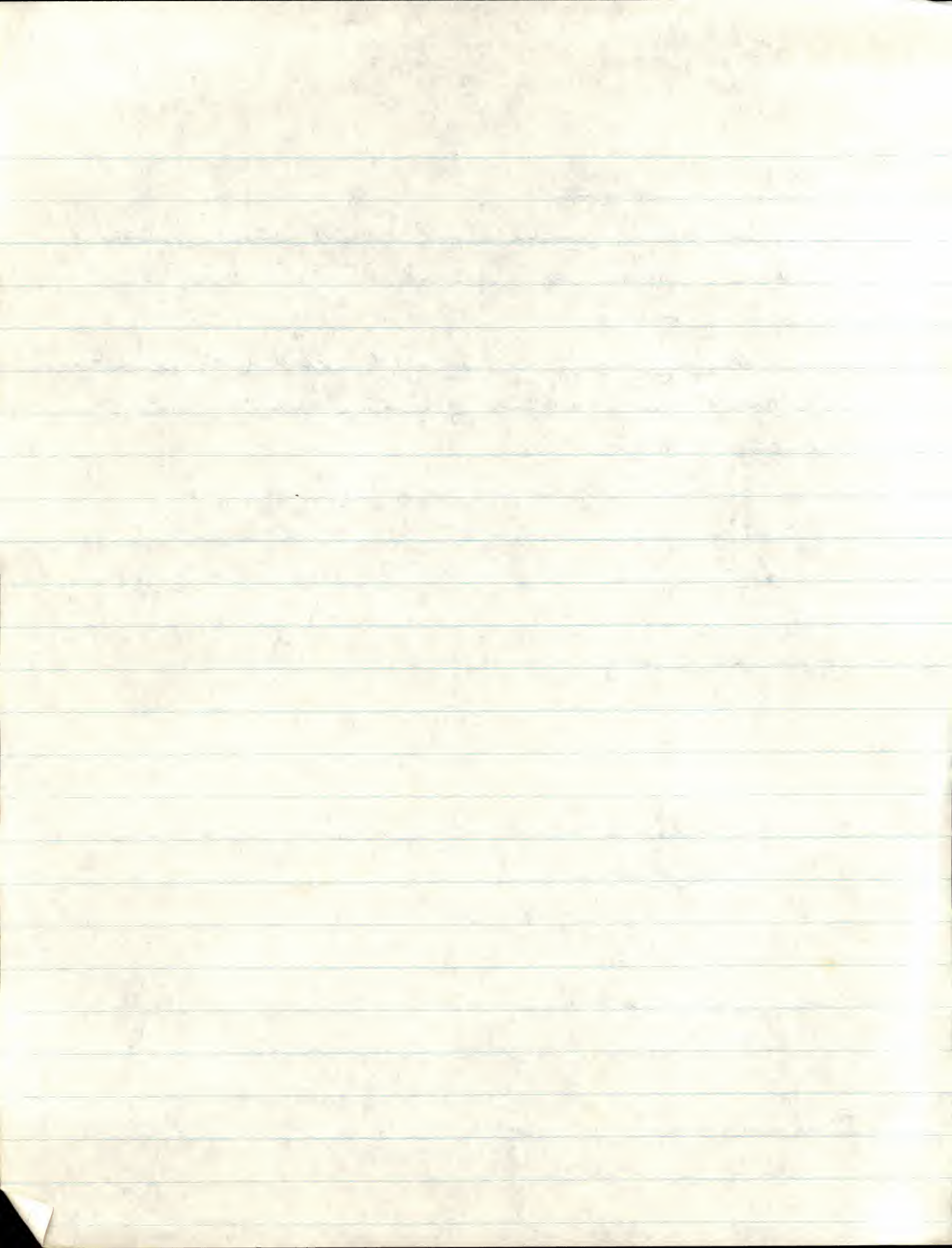
(Providing security is necessary to support: not sufficient. This leads to great overestimate of effective support (perhaps underestimate of potential support

Thus, they - "just provide the security, and... (they'll get together, coordinate, etc.).... always underestimated fragility of gains, ability to hold gains if troops left, shying of commit VC to survive. (i.e. over-rated coop of people even while troops were there).

~~Re~~ Note response to Khanh's Vy Tan Charter in August - demand for Assembly: not a US idea!
(Leadership wants this; ^{urban} masses willing to follow leaders in protest.)
Students...

Like Ky's reaction to Honolulu, 1966: fine Thi →
(By parallel when we (A) backed (B) brought troops?)

Did no Cabinet Officers argue strongly against bombing: or for pulling out?
(McN considered? Ball?)



Feb 1968

- Prospects for bombing.
- Wicken column.
- US flags in Hurl —

(Frispauer and became troops at K. S. : Common
plan? Com-proposed US tactics. DePuy:
vs. Delta; vs. cities!)

Simon

Did JKA, de Lato, etc. (Count) prepare Admin insiders psychologically for bombing (whereas public was unprepared)? (just as Ross prepared the for VN?)

In late '64, our view of requirements for GVN became
"adequate base for what we may later have to do" outside SVN.

(Rostow, 23 Sept)

i.e. rather minimal aim — just, stability. (Wary over GVN "morale";
meaning, tending toward coups? Hence, need to (a) prove US will
(b) avoid pressure on GVN.)

Gvt. willingness to stand looking on if GVN was weak!

McV to Fulbright 20 Feb 68

"Mastron" to suggest De Soto's could have been deliberate provocation.
Yet in fall '64, great thought to provocation; and all the people he
mentioned did know the plans.

My paper:

US

- Tendency to list ARVN failures; then attribute all to lack of unity of command

(III, p 2-4

Cor, "overall plan.")

US

- Tendency to list GVN failures: then attribute all ^{peasant exploits} problems to "failure to

III, p 6-8, 9

provide security." (or, to ignore all others).

(Chair: GVN anonymous
VC style + origin)

Deem view (III, p. 11) close to MACV

Sacks:



Chair: in Sept '69 with "Sacks" Committee

Favored ceasefire, and
electoral commission
(rejected coalition)

Mich. put in jail for 5 years; but was
pardoned

Pres. statement deploring

Pres. letter to Thieu

House Special Resolution — in favor of
free elections

Ozer, Chair

Journal

Office of Asian Studies Account

Shaner ✓

~~Reverend~~ Roman

Time ✓

Marjorie

Kraft

Halberstan

Shedden / Wicken

Moose ✓

Komer

West

San Wilson

Fleming ^{off} 386-8381

* 456-2877

~~Polychrome~~

June

~~385-8151~~

878-1190

Neff

Spiegel

Skulit

MoFarland

Nona Brown

293-3100



US action I:

Action in support of a current
regime is not intervention.

~~Bart~~

Walinsky

Brown

~~Darrow~~

~~Dentist~~

Dvor

Kellin

④

Pavan

+

Skli }

Wolf }

hsv

Moraton

Book

RAND - VN

RAND - SA/PA
(ORSA)

Heating

Boyle/Ethio

Arachid

Bazdikian

Russo

④

④

④

Chi

Ther - send 6 RMs

④

Popkin - send mass work
by Allen Goodman

Brown - MIT

96.13

④

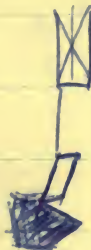
4

4

Ans. Clark

Mrs. Smith

Sacks -



Nona Brown
NYT Mag

NY Office

Sacks ✓

EGL



Kids

Sharon

Maria

Diane

Kinda/Tony ✓



Channel 2 7 AM

7 PM

Burke

Banett

McFadden ✓

Brown

Love

Dad

Kon

Harry

Chace

Von Hirsch

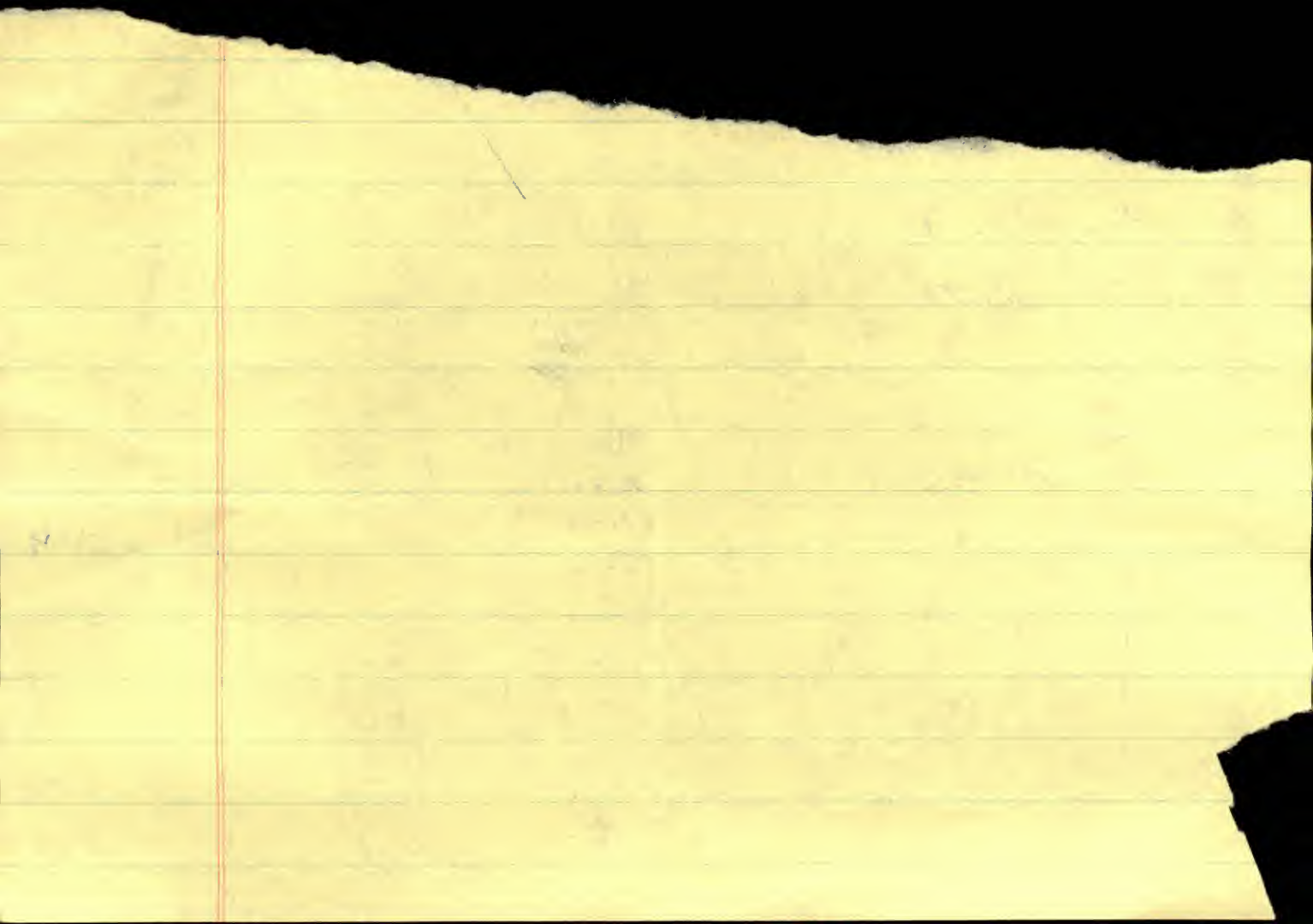
Kimberly

Debra

Alan

Frankie

Kornstein



Bagdikian - Kraft
Columns

(A - call Ev? / Cooke

Raife

Kahn

Rosenberg

(New Republic) HSR

Tickets

money

Chatter

paper to take
McGarry

Wissner

Komer

Phillips

EGL

Burnham

Hudson

(Chair list)

Britton

Parker

MESSAGE

TO Don DATE 3/16

TIME 12:50 P.M.

DURING YOUR ABSENCE

NAME Mr. Uliassi

PHONE NO. (8) (9) 202-632-0980

OF Dept. of State

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PHONED	<input type="checkbox"/> CAME BY
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PLEASE PHONE	<input type="checkbox"/> WANTS TO SEE YOU
<input type="checkbox"/> RETURNED YOUR CALL	<input type="checkbox"/> WILL PHONE AGAIN

MESSAGE _____

BY _____

Advisers:

— Lt. Col. David E. Farnum

— Frank Wierman

— Sam Wilson

(Asst. Commandant

of Waipapa Island.)


— Komer

Vince Davis for

Director of the Draft

have been known to use that term after arguing with him on operational matters--he is stubborn, proud, convinced of his way of doing it--but not, or not very much, ~~for~~ because he rates personal status very highly.

I agree/that it is a task of the highest urgency to put restraints on the use of advanced technology. But if the concept of "war crime" is to play the important role that it should in this ~~concept~~ ^{expanded} effort, its current usage will have to be ~~extended~~. At present, it seems mainly to be applied to face-to-face atrocities of rape and murder using relatively primitive instruments of violence. ~~We need a deliberate educational, political and legal campaign to expand this concept~~ ^{needed} ~~To expand this same social, and moral/condemnation to cover~~ ^{extend the} ~~barbaric~~ ^{and legal} uses of advanced technology--in particular, to bombing and shelling of ~~civilians~~ ^{more} ~~that cause far greater~~ unjustified suffering and pose incomparably greater risks to humanity. ~~The bombing in particular,~~

 What ^{above all} ~~is~~ ^{risky} ~~that he~~ ^{should} ~~condemnation~~ today — social,
moral, legal — ~~is~~ ^{be condemned} barbaric ~~use~~

What above all must be continued in this war, ~~with~~ ^{are} all the social, moral, legal force we can bring to bear, ~~to~~ ^{to} the barbaric

uses of advanced technology. it is just the
get ~~it~~ ^{the} right

"Sophisticated" technological atrocities ^{that} tend to elude legal and moral stigma ~~as~~ ^{the way that} ~~application of the concept of~~ ^{confront them is} ~~war crimes,~~ ^{that is} commonly applied.

in

yet it ~~is~~ ^{would be} shocking, ~~that we manage to~~ ^{while we properly} condemn rape and murder in warfare, ~~while we continue to tolerate~~ ^{to continue to tolerate} the strategic bombing of non-combatants, as in ~~Dresden~~ ^{Dresden}, Tokyo, Hiroshima, and the now the "free fire zones" of South Vietnam.

talked -- my notes read toward the end -- to a high North Vietnamese official, who had provoked these reflection. "I wanted to find out his motives." This was, I realize as I read this now, his communist brother, Tran Ngoc Hien.

(Transition to CT force for RVNAF was
impeded by US ^{MAAG} influence 1955-60.

[Not interfering "now" may mean more
effective + careful intervention later.]

"Progress": (a) arming and training of RVNAF
(from nothing; for w/rag war) 1955-60;
meanwhile, (b) VC bull. (c) GVN (Bin) success
against non-Com opposition. !



McHenry ³ 5-door safe

x x



Hayward City to help Chan on the
rebuilding of Ben ~~Ther~~ Tre



City Council of Ben Tre

